

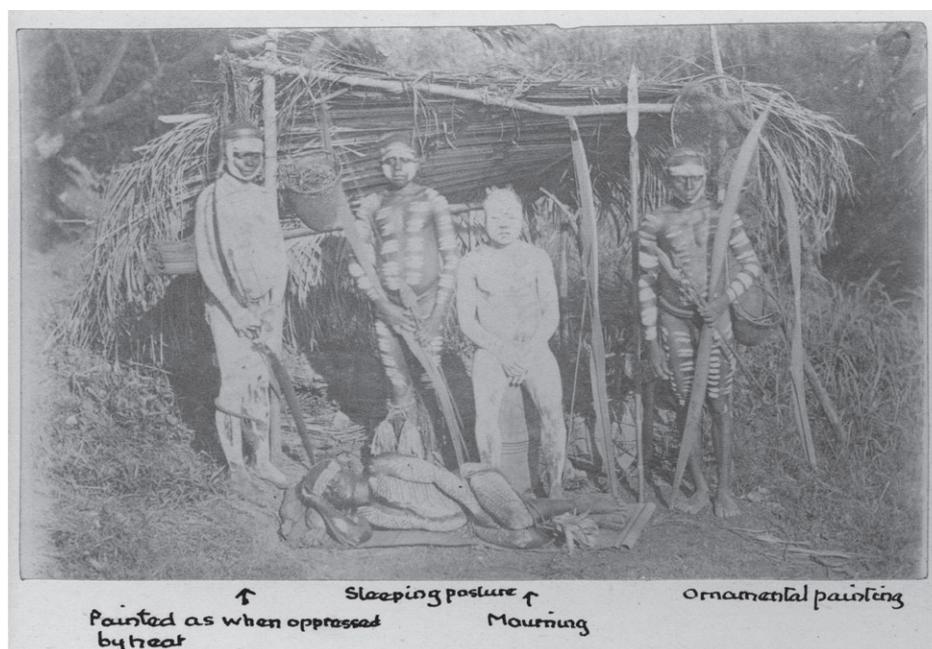
# Photography, Anthropology of

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## Intellectual contexts

Anthropology has always been a highly visual practice. The birth of the discipline, after all, coincided with the emergence of photography in the mid-nineteenth century, and the allure of the photographic image has been an enduring one. The medium's potent mixture of optical veracity and yet inherent mutability of meaning has always held anthropologists' fascination and attention and will undoubtedly continue to do so. Whether it is the camera as an objective data-gathering machine, as in nineteenth-century anthropometry, as a visual notebook used to record fleeting visual information in the field for later analysis, as a historical document used to critique received colonial histories or to reclaim indigenous stories and ancestors, or its use as a documentary practice to record and communicate human experience, anthropology's relationship to the photograph is historically and methodologically interconnected. Despite this, anthropology's relationship to photography has also been an intellectually ambivalent one.

In the nineteenth century anthropologists took to photography with alacrity, devising ever-newer methods for the objective recording of physical types, material culture, and the social, cultural, and natural environments of the colonial world. An important feature of the British Association for the Advancement of Science's published advice to colonial ethnographers from the mid-1870s onwards, for instance, was a section devoted to the best methods for producing useful photographs of indigenous peoples and their cultures. Such guidance was picked up immediately by colonial officers and travelers with serious ethnological interests, such as E. H. Man in the Andaman Islands, who composed a series of images in which Andamanese were posed together to illustrate various indigenous activities, gestures, postures, or styles of body art within the same photographic frame. In the example shown in Figure 1, Man attempts to illustrate different Andamanese styles of body painting depending on context, as well as sleeping posture. He even includes items of material culture in order to maximize the visual information presented. Such privileging of visual methods did not continue far into the twentieth century, however. With the establishment of a distinctly *social* anthropology the emphasis on both the photographic and the material culture record of other peoples and cultures gradually receded. Related to this was the increasing emphasis on the detailed analysis of social institutions and organization, not necessarily conceived of as being "visible" in photographic terms. Photography was increasingly perceived as a tool of the "old anthropology," able to record only cultural appearance rather than social depth and concerned with cultural and physical form rather than



**Figure 1** Andamanese body decoration and sleeping posture, about 1877.

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social function. While anthropology developed in slightly different ways in different countries, in British and European anthropology photography increasingly became an incidental by-product of fieldwork practice, a visual notebook that had the benefit of capturing fleeting visual information but that was irrelevant to analysis beyond scene setting and illustration. Indeed, photography's relationship to social anthropology remains ambivalent, with most social anthropologists producing large numbers of field photographs but uncertain as to their status or meaning as cultural or historical documents.

The anthropological study of photography today has emerged from this shifting and ambiguous historical relationship that the discipline has had with the photographic image as both a document and a source of data. While a main strand of the subject area continues to be historical, especially critical engagements with museum and archival collections of photography, a growing strand of inquiry has followed the expansion of visual anthropology's scope more generally, incorporating the study of indigenous photographic histories, collections, and practices. In recent years there has been a shift in intellectual focus away from anthropology's visual legacy and toward the medium's varied social and cultural lives in non-Western settings. The anthropology of photography therefore straddles established disciplinary boundaries, including approaches from history and the history of science, museum and archival studies, as well as social and visual anthropology and documentary and art practices.

## Major dimensions of the topic

### *Collections and histories*

Colonial endeavor resulted in the production of millions of photographs by individuals, traders, missionaries, governments, armies, scientists, and travelers. Many of these have found their way into museum and archive collections or continue to circulate in the private market. Added to these are substantial collections of postcolonial photography that are held in a bewildering variety of places, often outside of institutions and increasingly in digital form on social media platforms. Anthropologists and historians have engaged with these considerable resources to rethink received histories, for instance of colonial encounter and its local experience and expression, as well as anthropology's role within the colonial project. Such studies have focused not just on the historical content of collections but also on the histories of image collection, dissemination, and consumption that they reveal and what these histories can say about the creation of disciplinary knowledge (Morton and Edwards 2009). Collections research has also revealed hitherto unknown outputs by early indigenous photographers, overturning previous histories that saw the medium as an inherently Western technology mimicked by later indigenous practitioners. Collections research has revealed a much more nuanced history, which has not only pushed back the dates of indigenous photography but also shown how local photographers played with Western photographic genres and styles to establish local social meanings.

The opening up of archival collections to historical scrutiny in this way has also resulted in an increased awareness by indigenous communities about the existence of cultural heritage collections overseas. The publication of books, articles, and websites relating to ethnographic collections held in Europe, the United States, and elsewhere has coincided with a growth in interest within indigenous communities to reclaim histories and ancestors held within archives. And where such indigenous interests grow anthropologists follow. A number of studies, for instance, have documented the way in which photographic collections held overseas have been engaged with by communities and the sorts of local histories and social reconnections that have been made as a result. A significant dimension of collections-based anthropology, therefore, has been to understand the way in which the reintroduction and recirculation of archival material locally might have significant social and cultural affects.

### *Photography, representation, and power*

The theoretical models developed in the 1980s to understand the historical relationship between anthropology and photography were drawn from those that had been developed in relation to text in the "writing culture" debate, ideas that had provided a critical approach to the way in which anthropology had created its object of study and established its authority to do so. This methodology drew upon Foucault's (1979) configuration of surveillance, gaze, and objectification, as well as Tagg's influential assertion that "photography as such has no identity ... Its status as a technology varies with the power relations which invest it" (1988, 63). The perceived instrumentality of

photography as a tool of colonial control found fertile ground in postcolonial studies of anthropology as a discipline, and of the Western photographer in particular. This was especially so given the way in which photographs of indigenous peoples had been objectified, systematized, and understood within the disciplinary archive as a homogenized and universal entity of colonial knowledge. Tagg's assertion typified this sense of the ideologically determined nature of photography in developing discourses of race and culture. However, such approaches saw photography as essentially having similar values, which were controlled, classified, given meaning, and performed toward similar ends. In this model, both imagery and practice tended to be constructed as immovable "truths" that straightforwardly reflected a set of cultural and political dispositions held by the producers of such images.

The problem with such overdetermined analyses of both the photograph and the archive was, of course, the tendency to see everything through the lens of the dynamics of power relations and the visual rhetoric identified as its trope. The analytical force of these arguments, which centered on asymmetrical power relations, tended to have a suffocating effect on anthropological analysis since it inevitably led to a silencing of precisely those voices that it intended to valorize, especially the indigenous. Ironically, then, the notion of a "colonial gaze"—a mainstay of much postcolonial theory—rendered the subaltern powerless, objectified, and passive under the dominating scrutiny of the photographic lens. While the limitations of such analytical approaches are now well attested, it did open up a more nuanced analytical space in which anthropologists could see the constructed nature of the anthropological object and its ideological foundations.

More recent work has focused instead on the photograph as a site of contested representations, histories, and ideological crossing points, drawing attention especially to points of historical fracture in dominant readings, as well as to indigenous perspectives. The recodability of the photograph and the inherent mutability of its meaning have been explored by anthropologists seeking new critical pathways through representational issues. While the politics of representation remains a key area of investigation, the analytical ground is now much more fine grained, with images increasingly being understood in their material, social, and cultural contexts, which often present a much more conflicted and contested set of histories and sociopolitical dynamics.

### *Materiality*

Recognizing that a photograph's meaning might subtly shift depending on its form or material "performance," and responding to a "material turn" more broadly in sociocultural anthropology and history, a key area of theory has been the photograph as material culture and the historicity of the physical archive. A rethinking of the materiality of collections has enabled, for instance, an appreciation of the situations in which photographs as archival objects generate new meanings and how they have been interpreted as making certain claims to historical fact. Ethnographies of the archive have explored the multivalency of the photographic object, especially the way it establishes meaning in different cultural contexts. The way in which photographs shift their archival situations over time can be understood to shift their meaning and is often informed by an image's successive material "performances" such as copying,

enlarging, publishing, and written annotations. New material contexts are also shaped by varying intellectual interest in the meanings of images over time. What sometimes look like pragmatic decisions about the presentation or documentation of an image, for instance, are usually contingent on a whole set of intellectual assumptions about the “work” an image is expected to do in a given context, and an excavation of such decisions can be revealing of wider social, political, or institutional agendas. As objects, photographs have sensory “lives”; they are touched, passed around and copied onto new media, and visually experienced as degrading or discoloring. As indexically direct connections to their subject matter, they can also be crucially connected to emotion, memory, and ritual. Portraits of deceased family members are hung in houses or ritual spaces, touched, invoked, or spoken to (Edwards and Hart 2004). The way in which photographs are displayed and articulated publicly or privately in differing cultural environments and as part of different types of historical discourse shows the limits of a purely visual approach to such images. For many scholars, it has become clear that a photograph’s “meaning” is always partly understood through its material performance, its embodied presence, orality, or emotional and sensory experience. An important corollary to this is the concept of biography, in which the various performances or singularizations of an image, as well as its classification and reclassification, are paid attention to. Understanding the cultural patterning involved in a photograph’s social biography can reveal how certain photographs are made historically significant and how its materiality can inform the semiotics of the image itself. The contribution of anthropology here is to complicate simplified analytical readings of direct image content and to point out the complex representational issues that emerge once the image is seen as the product of successive material processes that have all informed what might be considered its “meaning.”

### *Visual economy*

The model of a visual economy (Poole 1997) considers the production, dissemination, consumption, possession, and display of photographs as stages of a cycle that generate photography’s situational and historical meanings. On a macro level this has been applied to the international circulation of images from a certain region that has historically constructed an essentialized image of racial or cultural type and which subsequently acted to inform the sorts of images of indigenous people that were produced locally, in keeping with this essentialized image. At a more constrained level, the visual economy model has been applied to the collecting and circulation of scientific imagery within a certain period, in which the dissemination, discussion, archiving, and publication of ethnographic images within certain networks can be seen as being crucial to disciplinary knowledge formation about certain peoples or with regard to theories of race and culture. The rethinking of the colonial archive as itself a visual technology in the service of anthropology in this way radically destabilizes the earlier notion that the discipline formed theories in the academy, which were then tested in the archive. Instead, the visual economy model posits the idea that ideologies often emerged from disciplinary visual practices rather than separate from them. And, rather than being an expression of a monolithic and universalizing

archival desire, the visual economy model is one that sees the archive as patterned by numerous sets of individual intentions and motivations. One of the main reasons that the economy model is so valuable for historical and archival studies is the observation that the nineteenth century was characterized by an epistolary anthropology, in which the transmission of data (especially photographs) via correspondence along scientific networks was the key method used to share knowledge and test hypotheses.

In more contemporary studies, the visual economy model allows ethnographers to think through a range of cultural and social phenomena, from the perspective of the interaction between producers, consumers, and disseminators of visual culture. This might take the form of local expressions of Western visual tropes, or the influence of diaspora cultures on dominant populations, or else the movement of styles and techniques in the context of international migration movements. The visual economy model, however, does not entirely map onto other concepts such as global “image ecologies” or “image ecosystems” that are sometimes discussed, especially in relation to the visual construction of cultures online, the reason being that such concepts lack any developed theory of historical or representational meaning construction that has been developed in relation to the visual economy model.

### *Indigenous photographs*

The gradual expansion of visual anthropology to include both the use of visual media to document and communicate information about other cultures and the study of indigenous visual cultures (Banks and Morphy 1999) has led to an increasing number of studies by anthropologists relating to indigenous photographic practices. The acknowledgment that photography is no longer a Western technological export but a truly global medium (Pinney and Peterson 2003) used by societies to mediate social relations, has led to fascinating studies of how local photography is involved in such things as national modernity (Strassler 2010). Although relatively few scholars have interrogated archives to conduct research on indigenous photographers, partly because of a lack of readily accessible collections and documentation, new information and identifications are emerging. However, as more and more collections come to light, partly as a result of research, our understanding of the indigenous use of photography grows and, as it does so, complicates received theories on both the representational power relations involved in photography (discussed earlier) as well as understandings of the local appropriation and articulation of photographic genres, styles, and values. These studies have the potential to radically revise our assumptions about the way indigenous people experienced, and represented to themselves, key historical events and processes, such as colonialism and apartheid (Newbury 2009). Historical studies have also begun to push back the dates by which indigenous photography began, with early indigenous photographers having been identified in many parts of the world, often soon after the invention of the medium, but whose work has been overlooked in canonical studies of the history of world photography, such as in West Africa (Haney 2010).

Today anthropologists are also just as likely to be interested in the work of indigenous photographers who have been trained in documentary, photojournalism, or fine art and

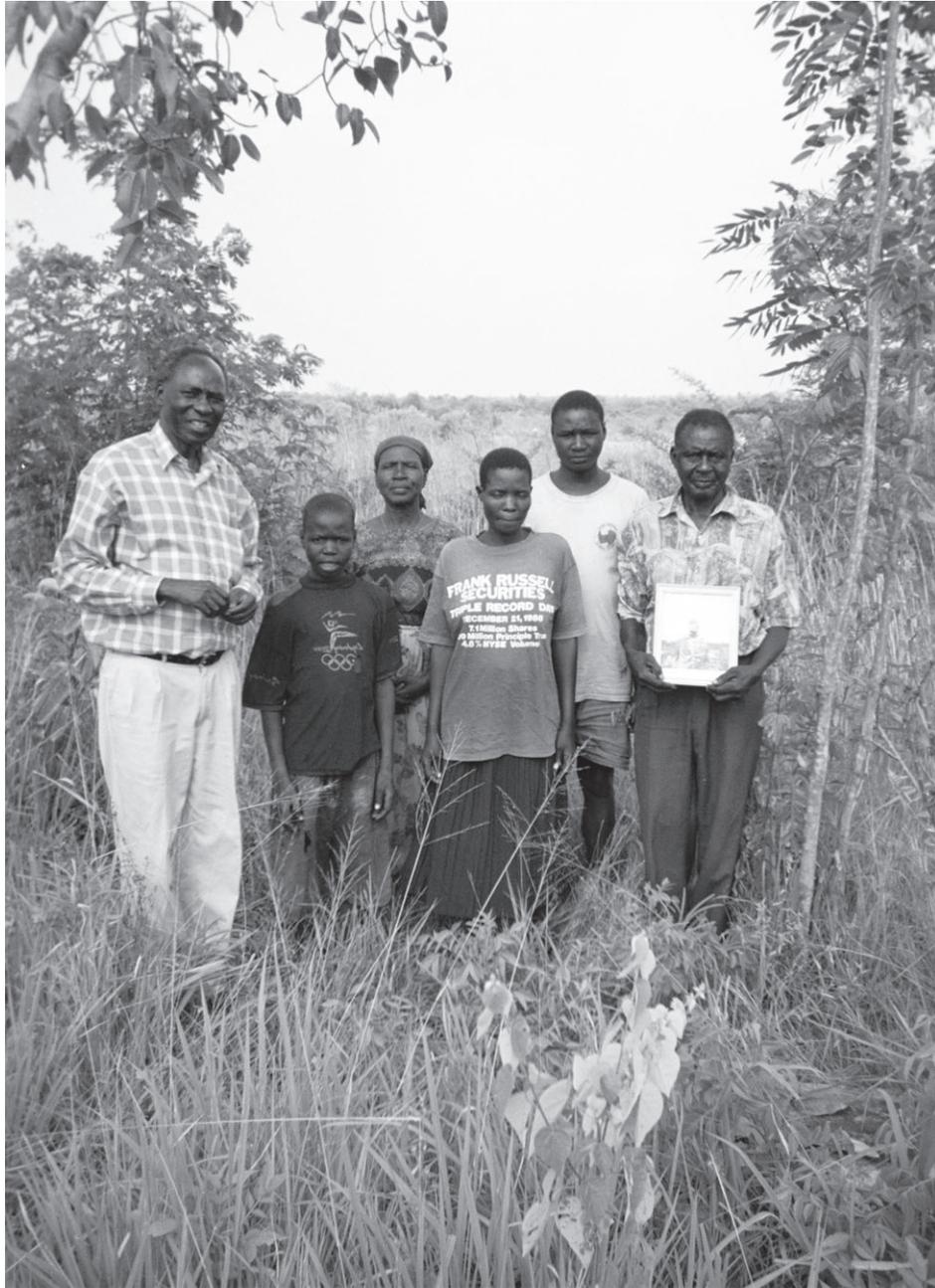
who make work relating to local or national issues, particularly in relation to ethnicity, cultural and social issues, and politics. Such studies examine the way in which practitioners engage with these issues in their visual work and how they use and negotiate imagery toward specific political or social objectives. Other studies have revealed the cross-cultural importance of such things as portraiture in ritual contexts, for instance the use of photography in weddings or funerals, and how the use of personal portraits connects with anthropological notions of self, personhood, and agency. Whereas in a previous era the identity of who was or is behind the lens was of lesser interest than what information or meaning the image contained, anthropology's attention to representational issues today means that who is making pictures of what, why, and for whom are central questions, especially in a world of democratized and ubiquitous image making.

### *Visual repatriation and indigenous reappropriation*

A significant feature of anthropological work on ethnographic archive collections has been the reconnection of photographs to communities where the images were made. Usually this process involves a Western archive collection, an individual researcher, and members of an indigenous community or organization, who all collaborate together in a process of reconnecting with visual material. In all cases so far, such projects have involved the return of copies of archival material, whether in printed or digital form, and the researcher has sought to use the process to elicit information about the images or to record the way in which the community responds to the images and culturally reintegrates the historical information they contain. There is an important set of analytical and practical distinctions, however, between projects that are predominantly photo-elicitation exercises and visual repatriation projects. Although the former can sometimes be a relatively informal by-product of the individual fieldwork process, the latter is usually a more formal collaboration in which a holding institution is usually an important part of the process, supplying copies of images and historical documentation as part of a formal memorandum of understanding between the archive and the community.

Whether as part of formal visual repatriation projects or circulating books, or more likely as the result of the publication of archives online, an increasing number of indigenous communities are connecting with historical images taken of them and held overseas. Indigenous curators, historians, and artists, among others, have begun to reclaim and to reappropriate photographs for a wide variety of purposes, and anthropologists are often important to this process as interlocutors, interpreters, and cultural advocates. In 2007, for instance, Gilbert Oteyo organized a series of local exhibitions of early anthropological photographs in western Kenya in conjunction with the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, returning framed copies of portraits taken by the anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard in 1936 (Morton and Oteyo 2015). As he visited families, Oteyo documented the way in which the ancestors within the portraits were received by them, most commonly by taking the portrait to their grave and talking to them (Figure 2).

Indigenous curators such as Michael Aird (2003) have described the way in which indigenous people frequently "look past" the often troubling colonial contexts in which their ancestors have been photographed in order to reclaim and reappropriate them



**Figure 2** Gilbert Oteyo (left) with the family of Charles Obewa (right), who is holding a portrait of his father, Ezekiel Onyango, by Evans-Pritchard.  
Source: Reproduced with permission from Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

from the archive. That they do so is indicative of the real desire on the part of indigenous people to find and to resocialize images of their relatives when the inequalities of colonization mean that very few portraits of previous generations exist. Anthropologists have also begun to study the ways in which this process is carried out in online environments, where archival collections from overseas are brought into dialogue with local cultural practices and debates, and as part of local processes of cultural and political assertiveness in the context of resource competition in the modern nation-state.

### **A changing picture**

While anthropology has always utilized photography as a tool of research, its focus on the medium as a subject of critical analysis is much more recent, emerging in the 1970s and 1980s as part of a wider concern with how anthropology created its subject matter. One of the most widely disseminated projects that emerged from this new phase of historical critique was that initiated by the United Kingdom's Royal Anthropological Institute in 1984 to explore the visual legacy of the discipline as held in its own collections. The project was published as *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920* (Edwards 1992) but similar volumes have also emerged in other countries. Although a reengagement with anthropology's visual past was not welcomed by all anthropologists, who saw the discipline's past as tainted by colonialism, the intellectual landscape was changing and postmodern influences meant that the potential of photography to explore certain areas of reflexive theory and method, as well as to construct disciplinary knowledge, was seen as increasingly important. Allied to this was the increasing rehabilitation of history within anthropology, which began to see the photographic document as a site of dynamic and overlapping historical presences in relation to the colonial encounter. A methodological recognition that the photographic document inherently contains informational excess that could provide entry points into contested historical readings of the past was a key driving force of this developing anthropological interest in the archive. While this important archival strand of the anthropology of photography continues, the attention of mainstream anthropology to indigenous practices was slower to emerge, despite some early attention to indigenous photographic representations (e.g., Sprague 1978). In the United Kingdom, anthropological monographs on the social life of indigenous photographs began to appear only in the late 1990s (e.g., Pinney 1997) after the first wave of archival interest, which has led to a new generation of full-length studies of the role of photography in a wide range of social and cultural contexts.

### **Current research and theory**

One of the key themes of current research is the writing of a wide range of social and cultural histories through photographic collections. Anthropologists and historians of visual culture are turning their attention to an increasingly wide range of material, such as newspaper, industrial, or organizational archives, as primary evidence for the writing of new cultural histories that often depart markedly from received narratives about the

past, based as they have been mostly on written sources. Alongside their use in writing new histories, there is a continuing interest in the various social, intellectual, and institutional contexts of photograph collections, such as mission or governmental archives that have been largely overlooked as sources of ethnographic histories. An important strand of visual anthropology continues to look into the local meanings of historical imagery and its potential to reconnect communities that have been fragmented or disempowered through colonization with their cultural heritage as represented in photographic collections. One of the most important aspects of this research centers on the images of ancestors and the way in which such portraits become resocialized within current social networks. Occasionally, the reintroduction of historical portraits of elders from overseas archives can augment local political claims to land, resources, or prestige, and anthropologists have become interested in the social lives of such documents as part of such processes. In settler contexts such as Australia, photographs have sometimes played crucial roles in local Indigenous claims to native title over land, especially if early photography shows the community using certain places for ritual activity.

A further theme of current research is the study of local photographic cultures. This takes the form either of research into the recent photographic past, where the research is focused on a local collection of material such as the work of a studio or itinerant photographer of the twentieth century, or of a more general ethnography of photographic practices within a certain community. Such research examines the local economies and consumption practices in which photographic practices occur but also the domestic and public display or social use of photography. Such research often focuses on situational and contextual usages, such as wedding photography or on the use of imagery in funerary and memorial contexts. These studies are often highly revealing of indigenous understandings of the photographic image both as a representation and as a crucial way in which existing and future social relations are mediated.

Current research on photographic cultures engages with a range of theoretical models and concepts drawn from anthropology more broadly, such as agency, personhood, and identity. Drawing on Gell's (1998) theory of the agency of objects, anthropologists have investigated ways in which photographs can also be considered as agentic objects. They point to the work that photographs do in certain cultural contexts, in particular to photography's indexical nature as a physical trace of its subject, to argue that images can sometimes affect social relations in certain contexts as an extension of the agency of their subject. Ethnographies have pointed out the way in which photographs often stand in for their subjects in ritual or religious contexts and are sometimes treated as extensions of their subject's corporeal and spiritual presence and thereby agency. In like manner, the notion of personhood, as elaborated in Melanesian anthropology, has also been used in the anthropology of photography. The idea that personhood may not be contained by the individual but is instead made up of the totality of a person's "dividual" social relationships has been used by anthropologists to help understand the relationship between photographs and people in different societies. For instance, the way in which both photography and the sharing of photographs connects with indigenous kinship systems may mean that certain forms of photography are preferred which reaffirm dividual relations and a particular sense of personhood. The manner in which different cultures socially accommodate the multiplication of the photographic subject



**Figure 3** Interior view of Cameroonian studio photographer Jacques Touselle's studio, with a painted backdrop hanging against the wall.

Source: Reproduced with permission from Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

through prints and digital sharing, potentially meaning that many members of a community may own images of particular relatives or ancestors, also connects with notions of personhood and the way in which photography mediates and extends these connections.

A further key concept is that of identity, especially ethnic or religious identity as represented or expressed in historical or contemporary photographs. Often this is explored in the context of political change and disempowerment and among minority groups within dominant culture societies. Photography has become a critical area for the rediscovery of culture in these contexts and of its political assertion in the modern nation-state. Other research has explored the use made of photography in nationalist propaganda in different periods, addressing issues of national identity formation and photography's role in communicating ideology. The relationship between photography and sexual identity in different social settings is also a feature of current research on contemporary indigenous photography, such as the work of South African Zanene Muholi who uses the medium both as an artistic and communicative tool and as a powerful tool of social activism. Photography's global reach and the politics of rapid social change thereby inflect many strands of current work in the area, productively drawing on established anthropological theory and method to explore the contemporary world. It is important to point out that the politics of the photographic image is not contained within the frame or image content but extends beyond the image to the very act of photography itself. In the wake of Azoulay's (2008) argument that the act of photographing others implicates us in a "civil contract" or "citizenry" of photography,

current research has become particularly attuned to the moral implications of the act of photographing, especially in contexts of social trauma. In this sense, current anthropological approaches are more attuned than ever before to the medium's ethical status and to the political relations invested in its production, dissemination, and consumption.

### **Future directions**

The major areas of the subject and some key areas of recent focus having been outlined, it is worth tracing the possible future trajectory of the anthropology of photography. There are two broad strands to this future: the continued foci on archives and collections and ethnographic fieldwork. Of course the two strands may productively overlap both in practice and in theory, but the field will continue to incorporate a range of approaches that include the study of photographs as historical documents as well as contemporary photographic cultures. The growth of the latter is likely to continue, not least since photography is now a ubiquitous medium in most societies around the world and since it now plays an important role in mediating many social relationships. Allied to this has been rapid technological change, especially the growth of mobile-phone ownership in developing economies, which has meant that most mobile owners now also own a decent digital camera and can store and share photographs readily. This phenomenon has demanded the attention of anthropologists to document and understand how the democratization of image production is affecting cultures and social relations. The future of the anthropology of photography is therefore likely to be the anthropology both of smartphones or whatever ubiquitous technology that replaces them and of the types of images their users create and the social relations in which such images and activities are implicated.

A key future for the archival strand is the recent understanding that archives are a form of sociality in which objects, images, and people interact at certain times and in certain places to create new meaningful relationships. The forms that such social interactions take emerge in historically interesting ways, such as exhibitions, the news media, publishing, and, increasingly, image-led social media. Far from these being static entities devoid of meaning until mobilized by a social actor, future research is likely to explore the nuanced ways in which photographic archives are dynamic social entities that have been subject to numerous shifts in meaning and context over time. The act of photography has always inherently and simultaneously been an act of archiving. Historically, this was partly because of its materiality and material processes but crucially it is also a result of its relationship to time, documentation, and visual communication. To photograph is to archive a social interaction in time; it is a creative act of archival production that has historically been subject to utopic visions of completeness in its visual understanding of the world. In the twenty-first century, the democratization of image making and the ubiquity of the lens mean that social and cultural life is mediated by digital images on an unprecedented scale. It is estimated that 400 billion photographs are taken each year, and that 350 million images are uploaded to the social network website Facebook each day. Given this, future research is likely to ask what the future

of the photographic archive is. Will even a fraction of this vast and growing “archive” survive far beyond our current fascination with digital imagery and social media?

Collaborative work with artists, collectives, and activists is an area of both research and engaged activity that is also likely to increase markedly. This is a result both of the general trend toward interdisciplinarity in academia generally and of many funding bodies who wish to demonstrate the social, cultural, or financial impact of their funded research. But there are also other drivers in this direction, such as the recent anthropological interest in organizations and organizational cultures and how certain social actors operate to create and sustain social groups. This means that there are likely to be ethnographies in the near future of photographic collectives in places like West Africa examining how global and local photographic agendas are played out in the context of local organizational dynamics. But it also means that these same organizations are likely to be key collaborative partners in the anthropological endeavor, getting more fully involved in the shaping of research directions and its outputs.

An area recently heralded by the initiation of major research projects is the anthropological study of online sociality and the ways in which photography blends with computer-generated imagery, illustration, text, and other media as part of the way in which these types of social relations are mediated. Whether or not it is accepted that online sociality is a completely new type of sociality or whether it is merely an extension of offline social relations, the role of visual media in this ever-expanding part of people’s lives across the globe is an important phenomenon to understand from an anthropological perspective. An adjunct to this is the anthropological understanding of the particular mixing of visual sources online, drawn from digitized predigital photography collections, digital photography, or digital art. Whether meaningful distinctions will be made between these different types of material in the future remains to be seen, but it is likely that anthropology in the near future will need to examine the materiality of digital objects as much as of predigital ones. Whether intellectual distinctions between such recent subdisciplines as digital anthropology, visual anthropology, and online ethnography will have a meaningful currency in the future is unclear, but it would seem unlikely.

SEE ALSO: Cognition and Visual Art; Collecting; Colonialism and the Museum; Digital Anthropology; Ethnography, Experimental; Indigenous Media; Media Anthropology; Museums and Source Communities; Photo-Ethnography; Representation, Politics of; Virtual Worlds; Visual Anthropology

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